APRIL, 1943

The International Teamster

Official Magazine
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
TEAMSTERS · · · CHAUFFEURS
WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

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We do not accept advertising

War Calls Tobin to Capital

THE general president is in Washington now almost all of his time, looking after our work and trying to help the government on many important committees of which he is a member.

This includes the committee of labor men that meets with the President every once in a while, which is called the Victory Committee; also the Peace Committee, which meets with the CIO representatives for the purpose of trying to establish better understandings and agreements.

He is also a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and consults with President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany.

He is a member of the Building Trades Executive Council, and he also consults with our representatives on the national rubber and gasoline situation, which is still very dangerous.

In addition to this, he is continually in conference with our Statistical Department, our Legislative Department, our Legal Department, and the other departments having to do with the serious problems confronting our large International Union.

Therefore, do not try to reach the general president under any circumstances in Indianapolis. You can take up any serious and important matters which you cannot adjust with one of his two able assistants in International headquarters in Indianapolis, Thomas E. Flynn or Joseph M. Casey.

The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER
Official Magazine
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS
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Tobin Answers Congress Attacks — Defends Labor Financial Policies

By Daniel J. Tobin

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Daniel J. Tobin, Editor
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THERE are several of the self-styled patriotic representatives and senators — supposed to be Democrats — and others of the Republican brand, who are now shouting their heads off for legislation demanding an accounting of labor's financial transactions, its incomes and its expenses.

For 50 years labor has been carefully handling its own finances, and only once in a lifetime do we hear of some labor official going wrong financially, while during the past 50 years—and especially in the last financial crash—banks of every class, corporations of every description, and individuals in every vocation and profession have gone haywire financially.

Would Terrorize Labor

Again they use the argument — why shouldn't labor make an accounting of all of its financial transactions just the same as corporations?

In other words, they are trying again—and somewhat successfully now—to make labor unions, which are composed of flesh and blood, the same cold, lifeless article as the insensible machine made of iron or steel, which is made for profit and profit only.

Many years ago the courts of the land declared that labor was not a "commodity" nor an "article of commerce." That was clarified and explained to mean that labor could not be compared to lifeless, inanimate things such as locomotives or apartment houses.

But these champions of liberty to whom we have referred—the representatives of the

American people but who in some instances are the representatives of the enemies of the workers—I repeat, those champions now are again trying to make people forget the words of the Supreme Court, the declaration won by labor many years ago, that labor is not a "commodity" nor an "article of commerce"; that it is human flesh and blood; that all the worker has to sell is his labor and that in order to obtain a decent return for that labor he has formed his labor organizations.

There is nothing for labor to hide in its financial transactions, but there is this to it: that no labor union should be compelled to expose its financial transactions to its enemies, and that is what this legislation contemplates eventually.

Labor's enemies are seeking the right to run into the offices of labor and terrorize labor by threatening to make known or interpret the financial acts of labor wrongfully, and to use any little thing they can find to magnify in a publicity campaign against labor.

We know that the press of the nation is mostly owned by wealthy men who, in many instances, have invested their capital for business purposes and sometimes for political purposes. We also know that the press of the nation today is not friendly towards the masses of the toilers, especially when they are organized into trade unions.

Almost all labor unions render an accounting of their financial transactions to their members. However, knowing the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, let me again make a statement for the education and information of our own membership, many of whom have recently come into our organization.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, under its laws, must have its books audited and all moneys received and expended accounted for once every three months by a certified public accountant who is not a member of a union and who makes affidavit of his findings to the general president of the International Union.

In addition to this, the trustees of the International Union, who are elected by the conventions of the Brotherhood, are compelled by law to go over the books once every six months and render a report to the general president of their findings, and the general president in turn must see to it that a copy of the report is sent to each local union.

Every dollar received by the International Union from our local unions is registered in the books of the International Union. The International Union also has an account of its expenditures each month. Every organizer appointed by the general president and every officer must make out his report once a month, sign such report, and it must be approved by the general president before the bills are paid.

As a matter of information we might state further that in March, 1933, ten years ago, when the banks of the country were tumbling one over the other and financial institutions were crumbling, and when every bank in the nation was closed by order of the President, and when financial institutions and investment companies lost their money and the country was entering a financial crash even surpassing the crash of October, 1929, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters never lost one dollar of its money in any investment or in any bank.

And, in addition to this, in the whole history of the International Union since the present head was elected in Boston in 1907, not one dollar of the International's money was ever lost in any bank or financial institution.

$8,000,000 in U. S. Bonds

This record cannot be equalled as far as we know by any institution of any kind that had financial transactions involving so much money. We might mention our own personal money we have lost, as millions of others did, in investments, but that was our affair.

The moneys of the International Union we consider as sacred and we were under double obligation to preserve and protect same, which we have done.

Here is another matter of information for our members and for the public, though we know our enemies will not credit us with these facts. We have today almost $10,000,000 in our charge and keeping. Very close to $8,000,000 of that sum is invested in government securities. We will earn from this money this year, without any risk being taken, very nearly $250,000 in revenue.

This helps to support and maintain the very expensive departments of the International Union. If the war were to end tomorrow we would not have to worry about other investments. We know that our government is safe and sound and we know that we are helping our government by purchasing its securities and bonds.

Where does our revenue come from? Our contributions are the lowest of any institution of this kind that we know of. They are one cent a day, or 30 cents a month per mem-

ber; so that the most that any individual could pay into the International Union in per capita tax is $3.65 a year.

We receive about one dollar on each initiation fee, and for the month in which the individual is initiated we receive no monthly tax of 30 cents. This is our total revenue.

It is true that the local unions, many of them having substantial benefits, charge two and three dollars a month dues, depending upon the strength of the union and the amount of benefits it pays.

But the International Union does not get this money. If a local union charges two, three or four dollars a month dues it pays to the International Union only the same amount of 30 cents a month per member.

If a member does not pay his dues to the local union, the local does not have to pay the 30 cents per month to the International Union.

What do we give the local union and the member for this money? First, we guarantee strike or lockout benefits of not less than $10 per week, providing the strike is approved in accordance with the laws of the International Union. These strike or lockout benefits are paid almost indefinitely.

Of course there are not many strikes on just now, as our International Union, on the request of our government, forbids strikes. But the time will come when perhaps in every section of the country at the ending of this war, men will be locked out or forced on strike as a result of the attempts made by unfair employers to substantially reduce wages.

Contributes Heavily to AFL

What else does the International Union do? We mail to the home of each member of our union in good standing, for himself and his family, the monthly publication of the organization, which in many instances contains 48 pages of printed, up-to-date material dealing with government, labor, and other important subjects. This publication alone costs about 6½ cents a copy. This includes the cost of the paper, the printing, the office help necessary to make the corrections in the mailing list, and the cost of mailing.

Next, the International Union pays to Washington—to the American Federation of Labor, to the Building Trades Department, and to the Label Trades Department—perhaps 2½ cents a month on each member paying dues into our organization; this year about $100,000.

This money is used by these departments and by the Federation for many purposes, in protecting the workers against the encroachments of the enemies of labor. Recently we gave a donation to the Metal Trades Department of $1,500, although we are not affiliated with that body.

The purpose of this donation was to help that department in its fight to preserve the American Federation of Labor unions in the Kaiser and other shipbuilding establishments.

Many Wage Increases Won

What else does the International Union do on the 30 cents a month per member? It has established in Washington a statistical department, now embracing about ten persons. That statistical department, since its creation about two years ago, has obtained millions of dollars in wages for our members throughout the nation by its presentation of facts and figures to the National War Labor Board, and other federal agencies.

Any one of our unions that has had anything to do with that department gladly and freely admits that its services are beyond computation in dollars and cents.

In addition to this, we have a legislative department which looks after our interests before congress, and which does a thousand and one other things such as obtaining reports for us, getting information from the different governmental institutions, contacting individuals and institutions outside the labor movement, and participating in the conferences and consultations by the many labor divisions in Washington when joint action is necessary. It would take columns here to explain the work of that department.

The International Union has a legal department, or we have contracted with a responsible law firm to take care of all legal entanglements in which the International Union, through its local unions, may become involved.

The expenses of this department, as well as the salaries, run into considerable money. And we hold that we are paying less than one-half of the amount paid by other labor organizations not nearly as large as ours for legal services. In other words, the International officials at every turn of the road have strictly bargained and sacredly preserved the moneys entrusted to their keeping by the membership.

What else does the International Union do? We have about 70 employees in the International Union, about 35 of them organizers who are ready to answer the call and help any local union that has a legitimate claim on the International Union for help.

Those men participate in wage conferences, in arbitration proceedings, as well as in organizing. Some of them are appointed as trustees of local unions, to look after the affairs of the local unions when they are not being run in the best interests of the membership. All of their expenses are paid—even when acting as trustees—by the International Union. This service alone runs into thousands of dollars, which is given to our local unions without extra cost.

There are innumerable other intangible assets from which the members receive substantial results and benefits, which cannot be mentioned or which cannot possibly be written down. The contacts, the influence, the understandings obtained by your executive heads over a period of 35 years, have considerably helped the membership.

90,000 Teamsters in Service

We have done nothing as your executive officers except that which we should and were obligated and bound to do. We have not laid down on the job. We welcome any investigation.

Our books are open to any legally authorized representative of our government for inspection. But we do protest, after 40 years of legitimate, clean business, to being placed under the thumb of some official of a corporation, or some columnist who would be able to obtain a writ through some camouflage, or some snooper from an unfriendly state or national administration.

Such men could come into our office and delve into the affairs of our union for information to be used against us by willful misrepresentation and prejudice. And we trust that our members will forcefully express themselves to senators, representatives, and others claiming to be the helpful friends of labor but who are in reality trying to strike labor down now when they believe it can be done because the minds of our people are all centered in the war.

Who is more deeply interested in the war than labor? It is your sons and your brothers who are fighting this war at home and abroad. There are 1,000 workers for every man representing the monied classes in the service.

There are 90,000 members of our International Union now wearing the uniforms of our country. Our ranks are giving up their best blood every day.

Who dares to say truthfully that organized labor is not doing its share? We will continue to do so until we finally win. Why? Because it is the freedom of the workers, the continuance of the law of justice and human betterment which is involved.

There are more than 6,000,000 paid-up members in the American Federation of Labor. This can be sworn to if doubted. The Congress of Industrial Organizations claims to have 5,000,000 members. We don't know. They give out no reports. The miners, printers, and others outside both groups have undoubtedly 600,000 members. The Railroad Brotherhoods, not affiliated with any group, have about 500,000 members. To be extremely conservative, here is a total of 11,600,000.

Each member of the union controls not less than one vote, in many instances two or three votes. Ninety-nine and one-half per cent of those trade unionists voted for the present administration. Here are over 23,000,000 votes. Senators and representatives, figure it out for yourselves. Don't deceive yourselves that they won't follow the leadership that never was false to them, the leaders that advised them in '32, '36, '40.

Los Angeles Council Wins Treasury Flag

EMPLOYEES of the Joint Council of Teamsters of Southern California last week were awarded the coveted treasury "T" flag at the Teamster Building in Los Angeles, for 90 per cent participation in the war savings bonds plan.

The flag was presented by James L. Houghtelling, director of the national organizations division of the war savings staff; Howard D. Mills, state administrator for the treasury department, and Charles F. West, consulting expert for the treasury department.

The presentation was made to Thomas L. Pitts, president of Joint Council No. 42. Pitts assured the treasury officials that every effort would be made by the employees to continue participation in the savings plan until a 100 per cent enrollment was effected.

Truck Situation Serious — *More Delivery Reduction Coming*

By Otto S. Beyer

Director, Division of Transport Personnel, Office of Defense Transportation

THE trucking industry, which in 15 months of war has merited the high praise of the Office of Defense Transportation for its widespread efforts to conserve manpower, essential equipment, parts and rubber, will be called upon this year to adopt even more drastic measures to keep the nation's trucks rolling. Through the cooperative efforts of labor and management, the industry held its own in 1942, despite mounting difficulties in recruiting trained workers and despite the ever-increasing equipment shortage.

As we move into the spring of 1943, however, it becomes increasingly apparent that even more serious problems must be met.

Manpower shortages already are being felt and promise to become critical throughout the industry as the year progresses. The reserve pool of new commercial vehicles has dwindled to the point where trucks can be released only for the most essential requirements.

While it is possible, under the Controlled Materials Plan, to step up the manufacture of parts, it must be remembered that materials and manufacturing facilities are limited.

Every part built cuts into war production. Metal and manpower that go into parts cannot go into implements of war. We have the choice —parts or guns. The rubber situation, moreover, is still serious, and conservation of tires continues to be a major factor in the transportation control program.

These difficulties must be faced by every truck owner in the United States. The over-the-road trucker, with the heaviest war load in the industry, will be called upon this year to render even greater efficiency in operation, to reduce empty mileage and to eliminate service duplications.

Tonnage hauled by over-the-road trucks has set successively higher records each month, and still further increases without a corresponding number of new vehicles or men is to be expected in over-the-road transport.

Local service must anticipate still more curtailment in deliveries, since it is in this field that a substantial part of manpower and equipment conservation must come.

There is no intent on the part of the Office of Defense Transportation to cut deliveries to the point where the public will be deprived of necessary services. Rather, it expects that the elimination of duplications will go a long way toward producing the needed conservation. Pooling of deliveries by local stores, dairies, bakeries and the like may be desirable to provide the public with necessary service and at the same time make available manpower and equipment so vitally needed in the industry.

The picture is not a pleasant one. Sacrifices

U. S. Asks Teamsters to Stay on Job

The whole objective of the manpower program is to have the right workers in the right war jobs at the right time. It is not helping your government reach that objective if you leave a job which is useful to the war to find a place doing something for which you have no skill.

—Paul V. McNutt

Remember that the Office of Defense Transportation, the War Manpower Commission, the Army, the Navy and other government agencies realize that to win this war we must have an efficient transportation system. Remember that "the whole objective of the manpower program is to have the right workers in the right war jobs at the right time." Remember this and if your job as a truck driver or a mechanic is the highest skilled job you can perform you are the right worker in the right job. Stay on the job and do not transfer to work where your particular skill is not used to its highest capacity!

—Otto S. Beyer

and inconvenience will undoubtedly be necessary to bring about required conservation.

Labor, cooperating closely with the operators and with the Office of Defense Transportation in overcoming obstacles besetting the regular movement of essential supplies, has already played an important role in meeting the demands of the emergency period. And it is to the cooperation of employers and employees that the ODT must continue to look for a solution of imminent difficulties.

Shortage of manpower is the most immediate problem of the trucking industry. Trucking continues to be subject to a two-way manpower drainage — one from the armed forces and the other from war plants.

In many sections of the country, the situation is already critical, and there is every indication that the shortage will become even more serious as the year progresses. Proper maintenance requires trained mechanics, and mechanics are scarce the industry over.

Trained drivers are necessary for the proper operation of trucks, both big and small. These, too, are becoming harder and harder to find.

Through training of new workers and upgrading of present employees the problem can be somewhat eased, but there can be no doubt that by the end of 1943 nothing resembling a sufficient number of drivers or an adequate number of mechanics will be available to carry on the industry at its present level.

If manpower were the only shortage to be combatted by the industry, the situation would be a serious one. But this difficulty is aggravated by the additional factors of curtailed gasoline supplies, by general lack of new vehicles, by a still low rubber supply and by a shortage of parts.

The War Production Board recently announced that there are exactly 57,573 commercial vehicles of all types left in the nation's reserve pool. A comparison of this figure with the production of 710,496 trucks in 1939 shows that replacements cannot keep pace with the retirement of vehicles.

In an effort to make the pool stretch as far as possible, the WPB has announced that remaining idle vehicles will be rationed only for indirect military demands and for the most essential of civilian requirements. This, with the shortage of manpower, gasoline, parts and tires, means that every unnecessary mile of operation must be eliminated.

Ohio Local Bares Food Frauds

PROOF that food prices require constant supervision if they are to be kept below price ceilings is contained in a survey of various items conducted by Local No. 92 of Canton, Ohio.

The survey was conducted by E. H. Kettering and Tom Oakes and covered two Canton markets from January, 1941, through last January. During those two years the average increase in one market was 81.5 per cent and in the other, 92.9 per cent on the items involved.

The items on which costs records were kept were fresh and canned vegetables, meats, milk, coffee, eggs, butter, cheese, and such manufactured products as Spry, Crisco and Rinso.

Some of the prices are supposedly anchored by ceiling prices but they didn't mean anything in these particular Canton markets which charged all they could get.

In the two-year period of the survey, the price of Spry and Crisco went up 136.5 per cent. The prices of meats rose like the thermometer on a hot summer day, pork chops registering an increase of 153 per cent in one market and 105 per cent in another.

Boiling beef went up 137.5 per cent and 260 per cent while the lowly hamburger meat went up 134 per cent and 212 per cent. Lard last January sold at prices 200 per cent and 191.7 per cent higher than the January two years previously.

The only product which remained unchanged was cabbage in one market. But the other doubled the price.

Apparently there was no relation whatever to the price increases in the two markets. The same foods did not rise correspondingly in each place. One of them marked up sweet potatoes only 23 per cent while the other boosted them 70 per cent.

But the market that was low on sweet potatoes increased the price of cheese 60 per cent while the other increased it only 32 per cent.

This supports the recommendation made by John T. Burke, AFL liaison officer for the OPA, in last month's magazine that every Teamster local set up a price committee to check retailers and prosecute those who violate ceiling prices.

Looking Back of Rickenbacker — Another Sea Gull Screams

By Lester M. Hunt

"EDDIE RICKENBACKER is one of the greatest Americans of all time. He is one of the greatest heroes of this age. As a Christian, from Christian parents, I am as convinced as I ever was of anything on earth that God Almighty saved Eddie Rickenbacker so that he might do the very things for which others are now criticizing him."

Says who?

Says Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi as broadcast with pious emphasis by the *Chicago Tribune.*

It looks like another sea gull had come to roost on Eddie's head.

When stuff like Rankin's is uttered on the floor of congress and echoed from a source like the *Chicago Tribune,* it is time to lift the white robes Rickenbacker is now wearing and see whether they are the garb of purity or prejudice.

In the first place, Rickenbacker is entitled to his claim of heroism in World War I. In the dash and vigor of his youth, he made a record which none will dim or deny.

Promoted America First Committee

But as the Second World War approached, Rickenbacker dissolved the debt we owed him. He aligned himself with strange influences and strange people. He became one of the promoters of the notorious America First Committee, along with Charles A. Lindbergh, the peacetime army officer who resigned his commission on the eve of war, and Henry Ford, on whose head the "Lone Eagle" now roosts, like a lonely sea gull on a raft.

The America First Committee was the guttural voice of the Gestapo in America. It said what Hitler wanted said, as he boasted it would be said, when the time was ripe to divide America.

But the real purpose of the America First Committee was camouflaged under names like Rickenbacker and Lindbergh. Rickenbacker is said to have resigned a year before Pearl Harbor. If he found the America First Committee dangerous and corroded with enemy agents, why didn't he warn us?

Why did he slide out silently and permit the committee to continue its subversive activity?

No protest or denial ever came from Rickenbacker when Senator Wheeler of Montana, speaking at an America First rally in 1941, disarmed us with such phoney facts as:

"German submarines are small. They were designed to operate close to their bases—within a few hundred miles of England. We are safe now, and we are safe for years to come."

He Was Just a Passenger

How many men have died because we listened to things like that? We will never know. They were listed as missing when their ships were blasted from under them by those "safe" submarines. They can't arise to challenge Wheeler, who said it, or Rickenbacker who let him say it.

We never knew at that time that Rickenbacker had resigned from the America First Committee. Why didn't he tell us?

So much for Rickenbacker and his background.

Now for Rickenbacker as a hero of World War 2 in his Saga of the Sea Gull.

That's easy. There's nothing to it. Rickenbacker is not a hero of this war. He is not even in it. It was through no act of heroism that he was wrecked on his raft. He was flying under the safest possible conditions in times like these.

Rickenbacker was wrecked because of an error of judgment. His crew failed to allow for the momentum of a tail wind and overshot their destination.

Rickenbacker is no more a hero because of the mistake of his pilot or navigator than a passenger on a streetcar is a hero because it is wrecked when the motorman runs through a red light. That was Rickenbacker's status on that plane. He was just a passenger.

Heroes are those who deliberately and repeatedly take chances that they know may sooner or later put them on a raft, doomed to a slow and painful death. Such as the crews of the military airplanes. And such as the

crews of the merchant ships. The merchant marine is composed of heroic men who know every time they sail that their destination may be a life raft. And that they may have to swim to it through enemy gunfire or blazing oil.

So Rickenbacker found himself on a raft. Was he a hero then? Not according to his own confessions afterward. He admitted that his comrades hated him so deeply that they were kept alive by the hope of burying Rickenbacker at sea.

Wants High Profits, Low Wages

Maybe that accounts for the speed with which Rickenbacker broke into print after his rescue. He wanted to tell his story first. He has been telling it ever since.

As long as he confined himself to his own experiences, we were tolerant of the bombastic Rickenbacker. He had been through an ordeal which had left him emotionally upset. If it left him with delusions of heroism, we were willing to remember him for the hero he once was, and join in the joy of his rescue.

But when Rickenbacker ran out of personal experiences, he refused to step out of the spotlight. He commenced to speak of other things. He flaunted his political opinions and his economic theories to the audience he had suddenly obtained.

He became the spokesman for the enemies of liberalism whose primary objective is to discredit the President of the United States. Rickenbacker declaimed against a fourth term. He attacked the administration of war agencies. He criticized overtime pay. He opposed the limit of executive salaries to $25,000 a year after all taxes are paid, which in reality means an income of $67,000 a year.

Rickenbacker said it destroys incentive to limit the pay of war contractors. The man who makes bullets for other men to shoot should be permitted to make unlimited profits. That, Rickenbacker believes, is "business incentive."

But the workmen in the munitions plant should not be paid overtime when their work week is lengthened from 40 to 48 hours, Rickenbacker maintains. That, he believes, destroys business incentive.

In other words, according to the theory of economics Rickenbacker learned on his life raft, there should be no limit on the profits of the men who run munitions plants or make war supplies. But there should be a limit on the pay of the men who work in those factories.

He says this will help the morale of the troops. No doubt it would greatly encourage a soldier to know that every time he fires a shot another nickel rings in the cash register of a war contractor.

And now we find this man extolled in the halls of congress and in the columns of isolationist newspapers—the same newspapers that supported the America First Committee, while Rickenbacker was a member.

We find him pictured as a saintly man, selected by God to carry His message to the people. We admit that Rickenbacker made a skillful build-up for this role. His personal publicity dwells on the prayer meetings he held, the Bible readings he conducted — with somebody else's Bible. He didn't have one himself.

All this caught the ear and aroused the sympathy of religious people. Having caught their ear, did Rickenbacker give them the spiritual message they expected? Did he give them solace for the sons they had sent away?

Not Rickenbacker. He gave them messages of hate against their leaders and their fellow citizens. He said the same things the America First Committee has always said.

The Klan Flaps Its Shrouds

And he said them so eloquently that Gerald L. K. Smith, the unsavory ghost of the old Huey Long machine, arose to embrace him and proclaim him as a candidate for President in 1944 on the platform of the America First Committee, which is also the platform of the Ku Klux Klan and other vermin that crawl beneath shrouds.

And yet a congressman depicts Rickenbacker as one of "the greatest Americans of all time."

If that be true, the time of American greatness has passed.

The writer of the above article has been a newspaper man for many years. He is now assistant editor of this publication. He saw active service on the Mexican Border and in the first World War, being overseas for many months with the 27th Division. In the present war he has one son in the Marines and another in the Army of the United States.—D. J. T., Ed.

Will Unions Survive Emergency?

— Joe Casey Faces Issue Squarely

By Joseph M. Casey
International Representative, Office of the General President

THE history and development of our modern American economy has disclosed many vexing and unsolved problems. Capitalism has been its guiding spirit—yes, its very life. The advantages of our American economy have been unequaled in world records and, for this reason, one had to be very careful in alluding or referring to any of its weaknesses.

Indeed, it was impossible to escape being smeared as an irresponsible radical or impractical theorist if one dared to contend that capitalism had repeatedly put our great American commonwealth behind the well known eight ball.

Capitalistic System Faltered

Past depressions up to and including the 1929 fiasco of watered stock and paper holdings were explained away by the now sick and dying theory of the necessary existence of cycles of depression in any economic order.

The contention was that American demands became too great, with the result that American enterprise outdid itself in supplying those demands, with the further result that damaging surpluses accumulated, which in turn took the edge off of everything until the whole country wound up in another of those "necessary" slumps.

This sounds fairly plausible except for the existence of the outstanding fundamental weakness of capitalism: At each repetition of these "necessary" cycles of depression, a larger and larger segment of our American populace was isolated and was faced with hopeless unemployment, starvation and want in the presence of plenty.

Naturally when this segment of our population became too large, our capitalistic system broke down and, ever since, has been staggering pitifully in the protective shadow of the New Deal.

Capitalism has attained some wonderful heights but, always and ever, with too few of our population enjoying those heights. Had capitalism broadened its scope and avoided the pitfalls of a simple rule of economics: the law of diminishing returns; it need never have suffered its last and almost fatal relapse. Capitalism can come back, but only on the broad basis of providing for the individual and varied wants of the vast bulk of the common men, women and children of America.

Coincident with the 1929 collapse of capitalism was the almost immediate rise of America's unions. It is true that the ravages of this debacle had an almost disastrous effect upon our unions, bringing them to their lowest point in this century, but in the short space of a few years American unionism took on amazing proportions.

The bitter adversity and hard times of 1930 and 1931 brought the working people to their senses. They became economically and politically conscious and moved as a unit away from a defunct capitalistic order, in the direction of an order that promised a much needed New Deal.

The rest of the story is well known and brings us face to face with a new set of prosperity "peaks" which bear analysis. Leading up to the crash of 1929, private enterprise was the guiding factor.

Today, and leading up to what may well be visioned as a crash, is the sudden jolt in store for us with the termination of our Second World War, with the attendant abrupt transition to a normal peacetime economy.

New Deal Rescues Capitalism

In 1929 capitalism could not take it, but very definitely has found a new life in America's present war effort.

In 1929 unionism faltered only for an instant, and then came back stronger than ever.

The New Deal assumed the functions of a badly crippled private enterprise and carried on with amazing success. Unions prospered mainly because the New Deal saw to it that they should prosper. Capitalism is gradually reassuming leadership under the war economy, and whether it wants to admit

it or not, is being helped by the New Deal.

Here, truly, is an astonishing comparison. During the depth of the capitalist-created depression, the New Deal came to the rescue of American unions. Now, during the prosperity of a world war economy the New Deal is helping American capitalism to regain its lost position.

Naturally American capitalism denies this, but a cursory examination of the active part leaders of big business are called upon to assume in the gigantic war program renders such denial futile.

Unquestionably the New Deal believes the capitalistic system workable and, hence, can be expected to encourage it to gradually assume its rightful place in our post-war economy.

Unions, it would appear, are beginning to get just a little bit the worst of it. Whether this is true or not, the reasons pro and con are all highly debatable. Aside from this feature of the situation, however, unions do find themselves in an alarming position.

Throughout the present war emergency, it is to be expected that unions will continue to be limited and circumscribed in their activities, but overshadowing all of this is the question of their ability to maintain themselves independent of outside help in the post-war era.

In other words, have American unions reached their maturity?

Can they, alone and unassisted, carry on for the duration and be in a position to cope with post-war situations?

Roosevelt Led Labor Forward

American unions have experienced every type of hardship and trial imaginable. They have come up through real fires of adversity. But never in the history of our nation have they attained the size and strength they now possess.

Unquestionably there will always be unions in our country, but the test confronting American unionism today is: Can it exist and maintain itself on the scale of power, influence and size it enjoys today? And above and beyond all, can it do this on its own?

One fact that tends to detract from organized labor's ability to maintain its present proportions is the manner in which it came up during the past eleven years.

A friendly, humanitarian and courageous President took its hand back in 1932 and led it to heights never before attained.

He personally agitated, favored and signed laws that struck the shackles from organized labor and definitely assured its existence and unrestrained growth. As long as he holds office, organized labor has little to fear.

With a change in the presidency will come a change in the administration and enforcement of labor laws. And when this happens, organized labor will lose the support, strength and sustaining power that brought it to fullest fruition. Can organized labor stand such a setback?

Apparently organized labor will have to bring into play some inherent qualities of strength and power as substitutes for lost political prestige.

Political Favor Is Insecure

That organized labor has such qualities is unquestioned, but such a long period has elapsed since it has had to use them, it is just possible that a condition of stagnation may have set in.

Then, too, many millions in organized labor today came in the easy way, under the protection of a friendly national administration. It is possible that many of these will fall away just as easily as they came in.

It would seem that everything depends on how deeply the fundamental principles of real unionism have taken root. If, during the past eleven years, the newcomers to organized labor's ranks have been thoroughly imbued with these principles, the future holds promise.

If, on the other hand, complete reliance has been placed on political favor, to the neglect of everything else, then organized labor had better take advantage of whatever years are left to President Roosevelt to serve.

It hardly seems possible, and still it is probable, that a great many members of labor unions fail to appreciate what belonging to a union has meant to them.

They do not realize that just as surely as they enjoy good wages and conditions today, so surely will they lose them with the dissolution of their unions.

Good wages and working conditions have come to be a mere habit with most workers. Talk of losing these things does not ring true. Talk of getting along without unions is not only tolerated, it is even encouraged, with never a serious thought given to the relation existing between unions and good wages and working conditions.

Unfortunate as it may seem, with many the true worth of their unions will never

be fully appreciated until their unions are destroyed.

If, on the contrary, the vast majority of organized workers fully understand the real worth of their unions, the matter of preserving and keeping them in the post-war period is pretty well assured.

Whether or not American labor unions have reached their maturity depends entirely on whether or not the individual members of organized labor have matured in their appreciation and valuation of the age-old saying:

"IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH"

Trotskyites Join Communists — Continue Agitation in Minnesota

WE HAVE been informed that the Minnesota state convention of the Communist Party was held on March 6 and 7, 1943. Two members of our Minneapolis Local Union No. 544 were present at that meeting. We know who they are.

The meeting was also strongly sprinkled with followers of the Dunnes, Deboers and Skoglund. They represented the elements that were supporting Trotsky. The Trotsky elements, if you remember reading it in our magazine, were out to destroy Stalin.

To those of our members who haven't kept up with the old history of the Russian revolution, let us repeat that Trotsky and Stalin held top positions under the regime of Lenin, the founder of the present system in Russia.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin beat Trotsky for the leadership and Stalin was chosen as the successor to Lenin, as leader in the Russian revolutionary government.

Trotsky then started to build up a secession movement against Stalin, and was eventually driven out of Russia.

He went to France and was driven out of that country. Then he came to the United States, was driven out of our country, and finally was allowed to locate in Mexico.

From Mexico he continued his agitation against Stalin and built up quite an organization of followers throughout the United States who contributed to his campaign of vicious propaganda against the Stalin government. Some years ago he was assassinated inside his own house in Mexico City.

Even after his death the Dunnes, the Deboers and others kept up the Trotsky organization, and were making some slight inroads into our membership in and around Minneapolis.

Those few followers were so thoroughly deceived with the preachings of the Trotsky gang that they were contributing substantially toward the agitation to overthrow Stalin, because that was the fundamental purpose of the Trotsky organization.

What a blessing it is for Russia and for the world that the Dunnes and the Trotskyites did not succeed in overthrowing Stalin.

If they had, nine chances out of ten, Hitler would be controlling Russia today as he is controlling Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland and other countries once free, now in slavery.

Let us refresh your memory by stating that the federal government got into the case of the Dunne crowd and inquired as to their designs and purposes, and eventually took it into the federal courts, where some of these men were sentenced for violating American laws.

But to get back to the state convention of the Communists held in Minneapolis on March 6 and 7, 1943. Apparently the Stalinites and the Trotskyites in that district have banded themselves together and are again working in friendly relations. This is the report we get from there.

The Dunne gang has ordered their members, we are informed, to keep on boring from inside, or, in other words, to continue the policy of creating discontent within Local No. 544 or any other union in which one of those people may have, under cover, obtained membership.

Under the constitution of the International Union we have sufficient evidence now to expel those two or three agitators, but we are going to await further developments.

This International Union, like the American government, is doing everything in its power to help the present government of Russia in its struggle for the maintenance of its own freedom and the right to its own form of government.

No one can deny that one of the greatest fights that was ever put up by any country

to maintain its own form of government has been put up by the Russian people, and we have nothing but the highest regard and commendation for that people for the sufferings they have endured to save their country from the monster Hitler.

But we repeat what we have said in Washington that if the sprinkling of Communists still in our country keeps on holding meetings behind screens and allowing their disturbers to endeavor to control or destroy the labor movement in America they are doing the greatest possible injury that could be done to the Russian people today.

They are liable to create a feeling of bitterness against Russia in its life and death struggle, by their insidious, poisonous attempts to create disturbances within our labor movement.

Of course the Dunnes and their two or three emissaries who may get into our movement cannot in any way obtain any kind of influence over Local No. 544 or our other unions in Minneapolis or elsewhere. All they can do in their viciousness and bitterness with their foolish and impossible doctrines of dissension and disruption is to create a very slight agitation which might lead to the expulsion of their dupes from membership in our union.

Teamster Welcomes Rationing

By Keith W. Burge

General Drivers' Union No. 142, Gary, Indiana

Editor's Note: Brother Burge sees an angle to this war economy that most people have overlooked. He sees a chance for economic as well as political independence for the ordinary man after the war. Maybe that's the reason for all this criticism of rationing by reactionary influences. Brother Burge's original viewpoint is worthy of consideration.

DESPITE the inconveniences of the rationing programs, they afford a decidedly sunny outlook for the working man or Mr. Average American. The results of these restrictions along with systematic bond buying stand to place him in better shape financially than at any time in his history.

When the war started, the income of the working man was spent better than one year in advance. Through the installment plan he has obligated himself with 12 to 24-month contracts, to buy his automobile, refrigerator, washing machine, furniture, etc. These obligations are in excess of his food, clothing, shelter and pleasures.

The Average American isn't to be too harshly criticized for this state of affairs, as it has been characteristic of this era.

"Keeping up with the Joneses" has been a national policy while "pay as you ride" has become an axiom of present-day economy.

With the war has come enforced credit legislation, rationing programs, and systematic bond buying. Consequently this era of loose credit has come to a halt. Further obligation of wages has been limited, national gasoline rationing has cut down expenditures for pleasures, thus leaving Mr. Average American with but few alternatives on which to spend the world's greatest national income.

Since he is notably honest and ardently patriotic, he will pay up those debts and buy more War Bonds. At the end of this war he will be practically debt free. The War Bonds he has purchased will stabilize his home and he will be standing on his own two feet, a free thinking, determined American, resolved that never again will he allow such a catastrophe to envelop the earth.

Yes, a debt-free American with money saved is going to be a more conscientious citizen. He will have an interest in his government he has never experienced before, because then he will really own a part of it; it is his materially as well as spiritually. With this new feeling of confidence, he will fight twice as hard to preserve his ideals and government.

So we see that the working man, Mr. Average American, now has a chance to "get even," improve his living conditions, and at the same time help his country immeasurably. With these goals in view, along with an intense desire and effort for ultimate victory, let's make our slogan to complain less about rationing, buy more War Bonds and we'll all be free.

Officer Praises Truck Drivers — They Keep Army Moving

By Col. Frank S. Ross
Chief of Transportation, European Theater of Operations, U. S. Army

THE men who drive the trucks in our North African Army take as severe a pounding from the enemy, the elements and the rough African terrain as any troops in the battle line.

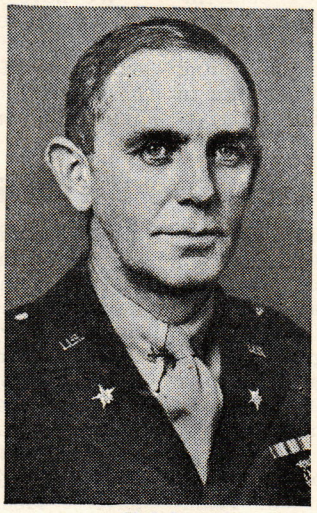
Operating under the most difficult conditions, our truck drivers are hauling supplies and troops to the front in spite of enemy planes, hazardous mountain roads and North African mud.

Theirs is an arduous job and the hours are long, but the discipline and sense of duty among these men is tops.

With the bulk of the movement of men, munitions and rations taking place at night, it's almost uncanny the way our drivers are able to thread their way over narrow roads in complete blackout.

Literally, they develop cat eyes. There are no lights for illumination purposes, so it's up to the driver to develop a sixth sense.

Blackout lights—two pinpoints of blue visible a short distance along the ground, but invisible to planes—are all that guide the drivers and their trucks as they pass each other going to and from the battle front.



U. S. Signal Corps Photo
Col. Frank S. Ross

Always dangerous, the job of the army truck driver becomes a veritable hell when enemy planes attack, and many drivers have demonstrated under fire that they can fight as well as the men on the front line.

Only recently, Private First Class Samie Burns, of Springfield, Kentucky, was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action.

Burns, a member of an anti-aircraft battalion, was the driver of the only truck in a convoy in Tunisia last December which was equipped with a .50 calibre machine gun. When the convoy was attacked by seven Junkers 88 planes, he maneuvered his truck into firing positon and manned the weapon.

During the action, he shot down two enemy planes and damaged one other, saving many lives and much equipment. His citation commends him for displaying "skill and courage which are a credit to him and to his organization."

Virtually every American youth learns to drive an automobile or a truck, but speeding over the Lincoln Highway at 50 or 60 miles an hour is somewhat different than travel in North Africa, where most of the highways are worse than the worst backwoods roads in the Kentucky or Tennessee mountains. A few of the main arteries of travel have macadam surfaces, but even these are very narrow.

Learning to drive in convoy is one of the most difficult parts of the army truck driver's training. He must learn to gauge and maintain the proper distance from the vehicle next in line so that enemy planes will find it difficult to spot the convoy. Driving in convoy is a tiresome job, and discipline has to be perfect, especially in long truck columns. And whether they are traveling by day or night, these men must drive slowly and steadily.

Traffic is well regulated through a block system and control posts, and accidents have been kept at a minimum. Nevertheless, driving an army truck in this newest theater of war is extremely dangerous, especially during rainy weather.

On the macadam surface roads, the soft shoulders during a spell of rain are treacherous and drivers must exercise extreme caution when passing other vehicles. The mud on the other roads is the world's worst, but our trucks have done a satisfactory job

of getting through. Even a light rain on the unimproved highways makes them so slick that it's like driving on greased glass.

Much of our transportation from the points of debarkation to the battle fronts is by truck, hundreds of miles overland through country that resembles parts of Arizona, New Mexico and western Texas—except that you don't find any vegetation such as the sagebrush and cactus that grow in our southwest. It is a more barren waste.

American truck-trains are serviced at motor transport dumps by both British and American troops, and the same goes for British convoys. This is true, whenever it is necessary to replenish a convoy's rations. The most cordial relations exist among American, British and French soldiers.

Our transportation equipment is performing well in North Africa, especially the 2½-ton army truck. It is a knockout. There's nothing better for hauling supplies and troops. It will pull the steepest grades in the snow-capped Atlas Mountains and negotiate the roughest roads of the torrid desert.

One of the advantages of truck transportation is the speed with which a truck-train can be dispersed as a protection against enemy attacks from the air. Pilots look for concentrated targets, and a convoy spread out for miles along a highway doesn't offer much of a target.

If enemy pilots do spot a convoy they might be able to destroy individual trucks, but they can't wipe out the whole procession. Railroad trains are much easier objectives to spot from the air, and are much more vulnerable to attack.

While the North African terrain doesn't offer much in the way of natural protection, it's possible to camouflage a truck or other motor vehicles.

We have confidence in our trucks and drivers. When you tell a driver, "Get these rations to such and such a place—they've got only enough for breakfast," you know he will get it there, come hell, high water or Nazis. It's his job and he's proud of it.

No Anti-labor Laws Passed in Indiana

THE Indiana Legislature has adjourned. As far as we know, not one piece of adverse labor legislation was enacted. There was some helpful legislation enacted, but not very much.

At any rate, the labor-hating propaganda seemingly did not run the legislators off their feet. They have their eyes on 1944 and they are pretty shrewd politically in the Hoosier state.

Great credit has been given by the men of labor to the representatives of our Teamsters' Union, and particularly to Emmett J. Williams, president of Joint Council No. 69, who maintained a steady, permanent committee watching adverse labor legislation of all kinds, and especially legislation that was aimed at or intended to injure the Teamsters.

All local unions, from all parts of the state, held conferences and each union did its share towards carrying on the necessary legislative information bureau maintained during the sessions of the legislature.

Other states that are sitting by with their numerous leaders might copy, in order to save themselves and their unions. If labor is alert, on the job, in many other states where adverse labor legislation is now pending, they can either prevent the passage of such legislation or have it amended so that it will not seriously affect the trade union movement when passed.

Agree on Post-War Objectives

OF OUTSTANDING interest, it seems to us, is the fact that the President's post-war objectives dovetail exactly with those announced by the American Federation of Labor.

He says that America will seek to free humanity from fear—fear of aggression and fear of want.

The first of these objectives, as labor has pointed out, can be obtained only by complete victory over the Axis powers, to be followed by peace terms that will outlaw war as a method of settling international disputes and by thorough disarmament of those nations now arrayed against us which are perennially afflicted with war fever—to wit, Germany, Italy and Japan.

The second objective can be attained only by a comprehensive social security program that will safeguard men and women "from the cradle to the grave" against the hazards of poverty, illness and hunger. That is labor's aim as well as the President's.

—Philip Pearl, AFL News Service.

AFL-CIO *Agreement Explained*

— Selfishness Prevents Labor Peace

By Daniel J. Tobin

A GREAT deal has been written recently about an agreement entered into between the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which some of the Metal Tradesmen claim is injurious to them, and they insinuate that there was some secretiveness about another sentence or clause, or as they call it, "secret agreement."

The main body of the agreement was that jurisdictional disputes arising between the two organizations would be submitted to a committee from each side, for the purpose of trying to reach an agreement. If they failed, then the matter would be submitted to arbitration.

The AFL representatives believed that was the first real step made towards stopping cut-throat raiding between the two organizations.

Afterwards there was a qualification submitted—you can call it an agreement—which stated that this agreement would not interfere with or deprive any of the members of either side of their legal rights.

Now then, our side was protected just as much as the CIO. Our membership is larger, we claim, and I think we claim it justly. At any rate, the AFL has more men working in the shipyards.

It should be borne in mind that this agreement had nothing to do with the Kaiser case which was then in progress and had been in the hands of the National Labor Board.

Executive Council Approved Clause

It was clearly stated by the CIO that this agreement of arbitration did not include the Kaiser case. They would not agree to that.

Nothing that the AFL delegates agreed to was in effect or force until it had been approved by the executive council.

The executive council met six weeks afterwards and out of 15 members present, 14 approved everything that had been done by the AFL committee, including the so-called secret agreement which has been thus qualified for some purpose that we cannot understand.

When the executive council met last January, the matter was also discussed of enlarging the committee to include a Metal Trades member, but the council believed it would be unwise because the three men on the committee were not representing any particular part of the Federation, but all of the Federation.

And again the council believes that large committees get nowhere. If the AFL enlarged its committee to 5, 10 or 15 members, the CIO would do the same thing.

Agreement Protected AFL

Again, the importance of the committee has been magnified, because the committee of the AFL has no power whatever and the members are only negotiators who have to report any agreements entered into to the executive council, for the approval or disapproval of that body.

Under the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters we can make decisions and we can penalize members, but we cannot deprive them of their legal rights as citizens, even insofar as appealing to the courts from the decisions of the International Union.

Of course the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been sustained in every instance by the courts in their decisions, because we had proceeded in accordance with the law.

Now those "legal rights" of members can also help our Federation members.

For instance, if a decision were made against a certain large union in the CIO and it decided to disobey the decision and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, took the case into court and in the meantime applied for admission to the Federation, wouldn't such a procedure be helpful to the American Federation of Labor?

You might argue that the same thing could apply to an organization of the Federation going to the CIO under similar circumstances. That is not probable nor it is logical because those that wanted to go to the CIO left the Federation several years ago, and

some of them have returned and others are contemplating returning.

As one member of the committee, I desire to make it very clear that I refused to serve on this committee in the first place, and that after a personal appeal from President Roosevelt over the long-distance phone to my home in Indianapolis, I consented to serve in order to try to bring about some kind of peace and harmony and unity within the labor movement.

The AFL representatives were stagnated for two years and couldn't get a meeting with the CIO. We seem to be heading into the same kind of position now.

The CIO has, since the last meeting, postponed two meetings when dates were set.

Membership on this committee has been nothing but a lot of headaches for me, sitting for hours discussing points and questions which were both irritating and tiresome and which required patience beyond explanation.

One Man Caused Trouble

I will be happy if someone else is appointed in my place on this committee by the Federation, because I am losing all hope of an understanding or agreement being reached, for the interests and for the preservation of the membership of labor.

Individual selfishness, a great desire on both sides for its full 16 ounces of its pound of flesh, and the desire to wrangle over small matters to the injury of the great multitude of the workers, in my judgment, will make it impossible to reach an understanding or agreement.

Some men on both sides are so hungry for officership and so timid about hurting the feelings of some other leaders whom they know are in the wrong—that they will not help to bring about an agreement.

The unfortunate Kaiser case has been brought about by the aggressiveness of one man within the CIO, John Green, who had no members in the Kaiser plant but who, through his organizers, was successful in getting a few discontented individuals to make a plea in their behalf.

All of us in the AFL and CIO have some disgruntled members for whom great things were done by the union, but who soon seem to forget.

If the leadership of the CIO in the conferences before Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes were to advise Mr. Green that the squabble should be stopped and that his claims should be withdrawn in the Kaiser plant where closed shop, union agreements were entered into with the AFL unions, there would be no question about the so-called secret agreement, which only legitimately protected the legal rights of members.

Your labor constitution will not be upheld in court if there is anything within your constitution and laws that destroy the legal rights of men in either the AFL or CIO.

Most of those organizations now wrangling in the CIO, and some in the AFL, might look ahead two or three years and see where their membership will land, as in the shipyards, for instance.

The present shipyard employment, if it follows the procedure of the last war, will be reduced to perhaps 10 per cent or less of its present employment.

Membership in many of those unions will be substantially reduced.

Aircraft production may not be reduced to that extent, but it will be reduced, as will many other employments.

Now is the time to look ahead and to try and reach a unified agreement to protect the membership so that we may be able to hold and to maintain the wages and the hours that they enjoy.

But I repeat that I am not hopeful. I am thoroughly disappointed and somewhat discouraged about unification and solidarity within the labor movement.

We have just enough men on both sides who look at today and fail to look for tomorrow, and who are anxious to make a mountain out of a molehill.

Law makers and politicians and other enemies are most certainly taking every advantage of us, because and only because of the division of labor — a division that should never have been, and a division that now should and could be eliminated if leaders of labor sincerely and unselfishly desired it.

CIO Approves Stabilization, for Everyone

Labor insists that if the anti-inflation program is to be successful, it must include not only wage and farm price stabilization, but rigorous price control, universal democratic rationing, a limit of $25,000 on personal incomes, and a tax program that will not spare the rich and soak the poor as does the present legislation before congress.—*The CIO News.*

Strikes Fan Fascist Sentiment —

Labor's Chances Look Bad

By John C. Cort

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ONCE upon a time there were two American soldiers in the same fox-hole. One of them, Private Tillinghast, was young and full of energy and idealism, impulsive, a bit on the radical side. The other was an older man, Private Cuff, kind of a Wallace Beery type without the smile, inclined toward fat and easy living, a little corrupt around the edges, but not a bad guy at heart, good to his mother, and usually reliable in the clutch.

They were defending an important sector of the American lines, and they were faced with a dangerous, formidable foe. It seemed like suicide or insanity, or both, when one day they got into a terrible argument over the comparative merits of rifles and machine guns, and so bad it got that they wound up by climbing into separate fox-holes and taking pot-shots at each other as well as at the enemy.

Fortunately the rest of the army was doing well at this point and the enemy had to retreat. But a few years later the enemy launched a successful counter-attack, and a new and far more dangerous enemy sprang up on the flank, threatening both forces.

Things looked bad. So in December, 1942, Privates Tillinghast (CIO) and Cuff (AFL) had a few meetings with a view to consolidating their strength. Nothing much came of it, however, except that they agreed that maybe they wouldn't shoot at each other any more.

Seems silly, doesn't it? And very tragic.

Reactionaries Control Congress

Most of the experts, the smart money, would tell you that this is a feeble parable and doesn't give an accurate picture of the labor situation at all.

They would tell you about all the complicated angles, the jurisdictional disputes and power politics and job jealousy and conservative-craft vs. progressive-industrial mentalities. But the complex angles are surface angles. A parable should deal with fundamentals, and that is our intention.

The parable is in terms of warfare, which means that we still have a class war on our hands in addition to that other bigger war. No one regrets this more than ourselves, and certainly it is not by choice of the working class. The employing class is still on the attack, as the following digest of recent news should indicate.

In November, 1942, the Republican party won a victory at the polls, and the reactionaries of both parties won majorities in both houses of Congress and on most of the important committees.

Gruesome Republican Blueprint

In December another group of Americans met in New York, the National Association of Manufacturers, the big chief reactionaries, and Mr. C. M. Chester, chairman of General Foods and a former NAM president, said:

"The silver lining of the war control situation seems to be that the economic planners will not play a return engagement after the war." Or in other words, boys, we, the economic anarchists and monopolists, will play a return engagement.

Then another ex-president, Mr. Witherow, stood upon his feet and made the famous speech about "we're not fighting this war for a quart of milk for every Hottentot or TVA's on the Danube," a cute remark and loaded with sinister overtones.

And then the whole gang passed a war program that contained 26 points, of which six attacked labor abuses, ten attacked government interference, the rest suggested ways management could contribute to the war effort (for this we are grateful) and absolutely none mentioned the possibility that management could contribute either an improved labor policy or an improved policy on any aspect of wages, prices and profits.

To this cheerful little earful they tacked on a list of post-war objectives, all of which demanded or implied relaxation of economic controls and not one of which implied the retention of any control at all or the creation of any form of self-control.

Cut through the plausible double-talk, all

the "phoney baloney" so dear to the heart of American business, and you have here a gruesome little blueprint of the World of Tomorrow as envisioned by the mentality that now dominates Congress and that will completely dominate national policy if the Republicans win in 1944.

"The good old days are on the way back, boys! Cash will be king once again!" That is the spirit that filled the sacred halls of the Waldorf-Astoria last December. As Monsignor Ryan and others have pointed out, the monarchs of American industry, like the old Bourbons, "have learned nothing and forgotten nothing."

These men are the pillars of that social order which the Holy Father, Pius XII, again repudiated in his moving Christmas message as having "given such tragic proof of its ineptitude as a factor for the good of the people."

Soldiers Angry at Labor

And Monsignor Ryan has also warned us that if they are allowed to run post-war America, this unfortunate country is due for another economic binge and then a hangover (depression) that will make the 1930's look like a bed of roses.

In the face of this crisis does the American workingman realize what the score is, what potential disaster threatens his future? Not on your tintype. Even his leaders don't seem to realize it.

A few weeks ago officials of a CIO local in a West Coast shipyard were responsible for a short, silly strike that nevertheless disorganized troop movements and delayed convoys loaded with men and war materials.

It is impossible to deny the charge of the labor-baiters that the men responsible for this are guilty of nothing less than material treason.

Though some may have done so, we have not yet heard of any high CIO official who has either verbally or otherwise blasted, attacked or criticized this action.

Then there was the completely screwy, irresponsible strike of 16,000 anthracite miners over the piddling matter of 50-cents-a-month dues increase.

And the great John L. Lewis didn't care enough about it to risk his prestige by going to the strike area and trying to get the men back to work.

One strike leader protested that they were fighting for a principle, not for the 50 cents a month.

A noble sentiment, brother, but what about the principle of elementary patriotism?

What about the principle of a decent regard for the public welfare or the future security of your fellow workers?

Actually, labor's strike record since Pearl Harbor has been very good, taken on the whole. At least 99 per cent of the workers, 99 per cent of the labor leaders have been working hard to keep production rolling.

It is tragic and maddening that all must suffer for the sins of a few, but for that very reason it is way past time that our labor big shots got around to doing a job, publicly and openly, on the next bunch of zanies who try to play Hitler's game, with or without a principle.

Another angle: Reports from the army camps reveal that the soldiers are getting plenty hot about the things they hear from the home front.

According to *The Wage Earner*, organ of ACTU, Detroit, one trade unionist writes from Fort Custer that the men there are "pretty bitter against the 'defense worker,' a sort of typical figure who makes $190 a week, takes a day off whenever he feels like it, goes out on strike when a foreman gives him a dirty look and enjoys the comforts of a family and home every evening."

Another union man writes from a southern camp: "Lots of anti-union feeling in the army. . . . I engage in at least three verbal battles every day, all indecisive."

And the boys on New Guinea and Guadalcanal can't be expected to like that story about the delayed convoys. It is the easiest thing in the world to imagine an army of men returning home after the war, bitter against everything that trade unions stand for, perfect material for a fascist putsch.

Unity Is Labor's Only Hope

So much for the dangers. It is the opinion in this corner that the only thing that can forestall them is a strong, organically united labor movement that will throw even more weight behind the war effort, and against those who impede it, and much more weight behind the New Deal forces in the Democratic party.

This being so, let's take up the obstacles to labor unity, all the complicated angles the experts talk about.

Number 1: As Sidney Hillman said in his impassioned plea for unity at the CIO convention in November: "A few jurisdictional

squabbles—what do they amount to?" The worst right now is the Kaiser shipyard thing.

Fortunately, on January 22, the AFL finally got around to okaying the arbitration machinery agreed to by the combined AFL-CIO peace committee on December 2, 1942, and this squabble should be ironed out soon.

Actually, there aren't so many fields where both organizations come into conflict. The AFL's main strength is in the building trades and trucking, while the CIO is strongest among the semi-skilled workers of big industry.

There is conflict in the shipyards and in aircraft, but the CIO unions in these fields are under sound leadership, and this should be easily soluble.

It will be a little more difficult in the electrical and radio industry, where the Communists control their only big CIO union, having ousted Jim Carey (still secretary of the CIO, however) by a close vote at the 1941 convention.

Lewis Digs His Grave

A more serious hurdle is the problem of jobs and prestige. When two organizations merge, you may find jobs for everyone but somebody has to take a cut in power and glory.

This is something inevitable, something with roots deep in human nature, but it can certainly be overcome.

An easier hurdle, but one that has been made into a veritable Great Wall of China, is the question of numerical inequality. The AFL announces now that it has a paid-up membership of 5,954,434 as of December 31, which is a new all-time high. Before last October the CIO was claiming something over 5,000,000, but in that month John L. Lewis withdrew his 600,000 miners, allegedly to promote labor unity, a connection which few could trace, since by that withdrawal he seriously weakened the CIO's hand and, incidentally, dug a nice deep grave for his own future influence in the labor movement.

So now the AFL gloats and talks nonsense about: "How can the CIO expect to be recognized as an equal in unity negotiations?"

The CIO has no very convincing answer because it, too, suffers from what Father Monaghan calls the favorite heresy of Americans: the heresy of numbers.

In reality there are excellent answers lying all over the place.

To begin with, the CIO is not only the equal, but the superior of the AFL in the things that count more than numbers: brains, energy, honesty, idealism.

If the present leaders of the AFL had carried the day in 1935, the American labor movement would still be back in the Stone Age, as impotent and despised as it was then.

And furthermore, if the AFL wants to talk figures, the fact is that they owe perhaps two million of their own membership to the militant organizing activities of the CIO.

Here is a "for instance," taken straight from the files of the National Labor Relations Board: the CIO organizes most of the workers in a California plant, but the boss doesn't want to do business with them because he knows they mean "business."

The AFL hears about it and sends over some organizers to talk to the boss. Then leaders of the disbanded company union join the AFL and before you can say "sweetheart contract," that organization has a closed shop, a check-off and a wage scale that is about the same as the one that existed before.

There are many more such cases in the NLRB files and a great many more that never reached the NLRB. In some cases the AFL just waits until the CIO has completed the first stages of "ice breaking," perhaps made a few leaflet distributions at the plant gates.

Then the AFL organizer goes in and says to the boss: "Look, Mister Whatsis, you don't want these CIO Communists raising hell in here? Now the AFL is a sensible organization 100 per cent American. We'll give you a good contract. We'll give you protection." A very efficient method. Several million members is a conservative estimate.

Big Bellies on the Beach

Not that we mean to imply that the AFL hasn't organized millions more the hard way or that there aren't plenty of conscientious, hard-working organizers and officials in that outfit.

And there are conscientious men among the top leadership, but the sad tip-off on that group is the reminder that in a sick and war-torn world the AFL executive council has just held another of its annual winter meetings in Miami, Florida.

Why Miami? Could it be because of that city's central location? Or perhaps the AFL bigwigs go to Miami every winter because they want to bring the blessings of unionism

to the millions of unorganized, exploited men and women in the new industries of the South.

As a matter of fact, who are these machine politicians sunning their stomachs on the beach, these successful business men flipping their bank rolls in the best bars and hotels, unhappy because the horses are no longer running at Tropical and Hialeah?

Are these the defenders of the poor, the champions of social justice, the respected leaders of 6,000,000 American workers? (No answer. But offstage is heard the sound of soft and mournful laughter.)

And the CIO has its weakness as well as its strength, mostly under the one heading—Communists.

Reports had it that they were opposed to labor unity, largely for the obvious reason that they would be swallowed up.

But lately the word is that Moscow is for it if it can be done without too great a loss of power and influence. Reason: Anything that contributes to the war effort is No. 1 with Moscow.

Communists Completely Unscrupulous

As for their influence in CIO councils it is much greater than their numerical strength would indicate.

Other than the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union they control none of the big organizations such as those in autos and aircraft, steel, textiles, clothing, rubber, shipyards, retail stores—all under right wing or middle road leadership.

They have a number of small and fairly important ones: East Coast seamen, West Coast longshoremen, furriers, transport workers, mine, mill and smelter workers (and there is a chance that they may lose this as they have already lost the Newspaper Guild and once, for a short while, lost the seamen).

And they dominate a number of small and unimportant unions: office workers, civil service, furniture workers, etc.

It is hard to get accurate figures, but our estimate is that they can't have more than 800,000 to 1,000,000 paid-up members in all their unions, over which maybe 20,000 communists ride herd, all together coming to one-sixth or one-fifth of total CIO membership.

To represent this they have three vice-presidents out of nine: Robinson (smelter workers), Curran (seamen, occasionally steps out of line), and Fitzgerald (electrical and radio, more of a front man).

On convention committees they get a little less than half representation, on two-man bodies (such as the CIO delegation on the War Labor Board) they get none, on three-man bodies, one.

For example, Julius Emspak (electrical and radio) sits with Phil Murray and R. J. Thomas (autos) on the CIO peace committee. By the way, the AFL peace committee includes Dan Tobin (teamsters, and strong for unity), Big Bill Hutcheson (carpenters, Republican, labor czar from way back, and the man Lewis busted in the snoot in the famous convention fight that started the CIO in 1935) and Harry Bates (bricklayers).

The comrades have lost some of the key jobs they held at CIO headquarters, notably in the research department, but they still have Lee Pressman in as CIO counsel and Len DeCaux as publicity director.

Don't ask us why. It is a mystery to which only Murray knows the answer. But it must be admitted that the Muscovites have worked hard for their disproportionate power.

They are articulate and well-trained, many of them zealous and self-sacrificing, and they are good at getting their men in as delegates to state and city councils and to conventions, jobs that are unpaid, but important.

They are completely unscrupulous and completely Stalin-dominated, and as such they remain a dangerous problem. Not a problem, however, any more serious to the CIO than the racketeer-labor-czar element is to the AFL (see Westbrook Pegler's column for almost any day).

As for the right wing, led by President Murray, Thomas, Hillman, John Green (shipyards), Rieve (textiles), Dalrymple (rubber), Sam Wolchok (retail), it seems to be pretty solidly in favor of labor unity if it can be done on the basis of a "peace with honor" and no sacrifice of principle.

The only thing that can prevent that is an arbitrary, arrogant policy on the part of AFL leaders. Once unity has been worked out, the CIO should be able to find enough progressive support within the AFL to outvote the reactionaries in convention. The rest is clear sailing.

Maybe the labor experts are partly right, after all. When you concentrate on them, the obstacles to labor unity look pretty tough. The thing to do is to concentrate either on the blessings of unity ("Behold how

good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity") or on the evils of disunity.

Then the obstacles look very small indeed. What is most hopeful is that peace committees have actually met for the first time in three years, and that they came to an agreement on one aspect of the problem; arbitration of jurisdictional disputes.

The thing now is to get them meeting again, and how that can be done we don't know, unless it be by the fervent and unremitting prayer of American workers and their friends.

The Democratic Party Forgets How Hungry It Used to Be

By Daniel J. Tobin

WHAT'S the matter with the majority party in the house and senate of the United States?

As far as that goes, what's the matter with the Republican Party?

But the Democratic Party at least should not forget that they owe their majority, or their election, in most instances, to the workingman's vote, which has been directed and substantially influenced by the trade union movement of America.

The Southern Democrats, many of them, don't care much about labor, but if the Democratic Party lost its majority, the Southern Democrats now holding the most important positions in both the senate and the house would lose their majority influence and their very important positions on very important committees.

Labor United for Roosevelt

Even if many of the Southern Democrats who are crucifying labor have no use for organized labor, they should remember that their power and influence is due to the fact that their party is in control and that they were placed in control by the labor vote of the nation.

I know this because during three national elections, 1932, 1936, and 1940, I was chairman of the labor division of the Democratic National Committee, and I was successful in cementing every element of organized labor in behalf of the Democratic candidates.

There was no division of opinion amongst the membership of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

In the history of politics in our country there never was such unity of action by the organized workers as was put forth effectively during the campaigns of 1932, 1936 and 1940.

Now, seemingly, the majority party, or many of them, believe that they are all-powerful, that they could have gotten there anyway, etc. Well, labor helped to elect Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916, and then we saw the Democratic Party destroyed.

James Cox, governor of Ohio, ran in 1920 with Franklin D. Roosevelt, and no two better men could have been chosen. But they were so thoroughly defeated that it is pitiful even to think of it.

History has a habit of repeating itself, and unless the Democrats in power stick to their guns and stop crucifying the trade union movement of the nation in all of its divisions and branches, they will find themselves as they did before, from March, 1921, until March, 1933, a crawling, impotent minority.

And might we say to the Republicans that unless they are governed by the progressive expressions and actions of men like Stassen and Dewey, and perhaps Bricker, they never will get back control of the political machinery of the nation.

As one clergyman said not long ago in New York, "The Republican Party, many of them, have learned nothing during the past thirty years."

They are still in association with the labor-hating capitalists who could not change their opinions unless a Hitler had control of the nation and helped to destroy them. In other words, the "die hards" are still holding on to their implacable hatreds of years ago.

At a recent meeting of labor men in Washington, called in reference to the Kaiser shipyard trouble, there were about one hun-

dred representative labor men present, and not one of them present had a favorable word to say for the present majority in congress or for the National Labor Board and other creations of the present government.

Now this writer knows full well that there have always been a few leaders of labor who never changed their political affiliation and who could not see the need of putting the candidate ahead of the party. But those few men in the elections of 1932, 1936 and 1940 had very little influence on their membership.

I am sorry to say, as one who has participated in the appeals to the workers of the nation, that a unified condition of labor would not prevail tomorrow if a general election was held. Even the fact that we are engaged in war would not be sufficient to convince the toilers of the nation that the majority party in congress is the friend of labor.

There seems to be some impression prevailing in the congress that the farming elements of the nation control the elections. That is a serious mistake.

The farmers do not control the State of New York at the polls, nor the State of Ohio, nor the State of Illinois. The industrial workers control the elections, and there are thousands of farm laborers that follow the advice and leadership, politically, of the men of labor.

One final word to the majority party in congress. Don't continue convincing yourselves that it is stylish now to attack organized labor!

If you do (and you are acting that way at present), you will find yourselves on the outside looking in as you were from March 4, 1921, until March 4, 1933. And when you are outside looking in you won't have much to say about political jobs for your friends.

In addition to this, be careful that by your contemplated legislation which you may think of enacting, you do not drive labor too far. Labor is human, and the more you persecute labor the more labor will retaliate and resent your action, and perhaps by such action you will render labor uncontrollable and destroy the work and the teachings and the advice that many of us have been giving to the multitudes for the past thirty years, based on justice to all, love of country, love of home, and democracy founded on the freedom of mankind.

Many labor leaders who supported the Democratic party in 1932, 1936 and 1940 feel now that they are being betrayed, "sold down the river," by the party they helped put in power. They feel this is being done under the cry of "We're in war."

In reality, these men of labor believe the flag, the war excuse, is only a smoke screen to hide the crimes of the profiteers, the chaps who oppose the salary limit of $25,000 a year after taxes are paid.

Those labor men now say: "Well, if we are going to be crucified, let us be crucified by those who don't claim to be our friends."

That is the present reasoning of very many leaders of labor and those men have influence over their membership and don't make any mistake on that point. I know! They helped me elect the present majority party three times.

Farm Bloc Lobby Farms the Farmers

THE Farm Bloc lobby is the Washington headquarters of such groups as the Associated Farmers and represents the large nazified and dictatorial food cooperatives and the monopolistic grower and shipper corporations. None of them are "farmers" in any sense of the word as the man on the street understands the definition of that word.

Boiled down to essentials, the technique of these groups is to pay the real farmer the very minimum within the bounds of common conscience for his products and to charge the consuming public the very maximum allowable on the legal side of outright piracy for the same products.

That, in short, is the simple reason why, during the last two decades, both the small wage earner and the independent dirt farmer have found themselves up against the financial guns.

The cards have been very artfully stacked for a long time against both the producing farmer and the consuming public. The large cooperatives and shipper-grower corporations have the farmers at their mercy.

The farmers either sell their products through or to those organizations and corporations or let them rot for want of a market. And the public either buys them at prices regulated through the complete smothering of competitive trading, or goes hungry.

—*American Labor Citizen, San Francisco.*

Hobbs Bill Dangerous to Unions — Congressman Seeks Information

THE opposition of the Teamsters' Union to the Hobbs bill has been set forth by President Tobin in the following letter addressed to Congressman Thomas F. Burchill, New York Democrat, who had written President Tobin for his opinion.

March 10, 1943.

Hon. Thomas F. Burchill,
Congress of the United States,
Congressional Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman:

Thanks for your letter of March 9, 1943, and for a copy of the Hobbs bill, H. R. 653. Of course I have known about this bill for some time.

My honest opinion is that it is the most vicious and uncalled-for piece of legislation that was ever introduced against the American citizens who compose organized labor in our country. Lines 9 to 16 on page 2 define robbery as follows:

> "(b) The term 'robbery' means the unlawful taking or obtaining of personal property, from the person or in the presence of another, against his will, by means of actual or threatened force, or violence, or fear of injury, immediate or future, to his person or property, or property in his custody or possession, or the person or property of a relative or member of his family or of anyone in his company at the time of the taking or obtaining."

Lines 17 to 20 on the same page read:

> "(c) The term 'extortion' means the obtaining of property from another, with his consent, induced by wrongful use of actual or threatened force, violence, or fear, or under color of official right."

You and I understood robbery to be someone breaking into a place and stealing something. Under the interpretation of robbery in the Hobbs bill, the following case might be interpreted as robbery:

A representative of a union goes to an employer and advises him he has some non-union men working for him, while the majority of his men are union; and he requests said employer to see to it that the men join the union; the union representative states that the men have no money because of their low wages or other reasons, to pay their dues or their initiation fee, and the employer answers that this is none of his business, etc.

Next day the union men refuse to work, and even if they do work, other union men at other points refuse to handle the goods, so that in a day or two the employer advances the initiation fees or the dues of the two or three men in question.

Of course the employer advances this money against his will, although he deducts it from the wages of the individuals. Now under the Hobbs bill that would be construed as advancing money against his will and the union agent would be subject, under the Hobbs bill, to 20 years in prison or a fine of $10,000.

Food is Interstate Commerce

You may say that this is an imaginary case. In answer I desire to say that we have cases of that kind every hour of the day, and under the Hobbs bill we would be guilty of interfering with interstate commerce. And furthermore let me say that nearly everything we handle now is interpreted as interstate. Shirts or shoes made in Boston going down to Providence, 45 miles away, hauled by Teamsters, are interstate. Bread is considered interstate because the flour comes from Minnesota, and a bakery driver is considered as engaged in interstate traffic.

Again, the Hobbs bill is introduced under the pretense or excuse that we are in war and it will only remain on the statute books of the nation during the war. If it ever becomes a law we will find plenty of congressmen willing to renew the bill after the war.

Congressman Hobbs and others who are not friendly to labor, backed by the employers' associations and all the other enemies of labor, refer every so often to a case that obtained in Local No. 807, Truck Drivers of New York, in which the Supreme Court of the United States, in the opinion written by Justice James F. Byrnes, upheld the action of the union.

I might say to you that that case was the only case of its kind that we had in the entire International organization, which has a membership of over 600,000. The Interna-

tional Union advised against the actions of some few members of ours in that particular case.

The International, however, realized the condition obtaining at that particular time. Thousands of truck drivers were out of work, their families were in need, and out-of-town trucks were bringing freight in from Pennsylvania and other states. Some of them were union men. The New York truck driver found his work was being taken away from him.

Therefore the New York local union—again I repeat against the wishes of the International Union—decided that their men who were out of work and who were losing their work by the changed-over condition, would take the truck and deliver the freight when it entered the edge of New York City, mainly in order to find employment for their out-of-work members.

They charged one day's pay for handling the truck, even if in some instances it did not take a whole day. The driver bringing the truck to the edge of the city rested.

Only One Judge Dissented

By mutual consent this condition obtains now in many cities, on the request of the employers, because the over-the-road driver works so many hours—I think he is compelled to work sixty hours—and the time that he rests is deducted from his hours of work over the road.

Very often, if he has a mixed load, the load is sorted on platforms at the edge of or within the city, and trucks going to different points within the city make up full loads for that direction, saving money for the employers, because, I repeat, the over-the-road driver is not paid while resting.

All kinds of unfair interpretations have been placed on the action of Local No. 807 and its members in this instance. The full bench of the Supreme Court upheld the action of the union with the exception of one judge, who dissented. The opinion or decision of the seven or eight other judges is ignored, and the one judge with his dissenting opinion and what we consider his unfair attitude and expression against labor and against his colleagues, is magnified and dwelt on and enlarged by individuals in the congress and outside of the congress, who have always been the enemies of the trade union movement of America.

The Truck Owners' Associations of America work hand in hand with the Teamsters' Union in matters of this kind, and we have no misunderstandings, and the cooperation of the other 997 local unions is forgotten.

I have written articles in our monthly magazine—which reaches the homes of our entire membership—condemning any man who would stop work during the period of the war and advising that he would be recognized as a traitor to his nation.

We haven't been entirely successful in preventing stoppages of work because of the attitude of employers, in most instances, and the eternal delay and confusion in the War Labor Board.

I have cases where men have not received increases in wages for five years who are engaged in interstate hauling, and after months we are unable to get decisions even in accordance with the Little Steel formula although the cost of living in five years has advanced over 27 per cent.

Those men have quit work, and on threatening to revoke their charter they returned to work. I mention this to give you some idea, as a congressman, of what labor is doing in this war; and in the face of all this, labor is to be hamstrung and shackled by unnecessary, adverse, cruel legislation.

I am preparing an article referring to some of this legislation for our monthly magazine which will be in the mails on March 31, and an advance copy of the article will be sent to each senator and representative. I trust you will find time to read it.

I witnessed conditions in England last September between labor, government and employers. I reported to the nation over a national hook-up what I found. I am saying to you now that in the short time we have been in war and considering the large expanse of country we have in our charge and keeping and the many different classes of men and women working night and day, I believe labor is doing a marvelous job and so are the employers; and any adverse, uncalled-for, unnecessary legislation such as contemplated in the Hobbs bill, in my judgment, will cause discontent, trouble, and a sense of hopelessness and disappointment among the workers which can only injure our nation in this great effort we are all making—as we should—towards bringing this war to a successful ending.

Very sincerely yours,

DANIEL J. TOBIN.

New Jersey Strike Illegal

WE ARE getting tired of having local unions stop work in violation of the orders of the International executive board. Recently in New Jersey several of our unions refused to go through a picket line around a department store. We had contracts with the United Parcel Delivery Company. One of the wise babies representing one of our unions could not be found to answer our long-distance call.

The government insists that this kind of business stop! The International Union insists that it stop!

The trouble in Paterson, New Jersey, was that the Retail Clerks were trying to get an agreement with the employers and the case was before the Labor Board, as hundreds of our cases are. In other words, the orders of the government and the decisions of the general executive board are forgotten by some of our local officers, who sometimes use the excuse that they can't get the men to go through the lines.

We recall many cases years ago, among them the Express Drivers of New York, where Mike Cashal took an express truck and drove it through the picket lines of the Railway Clerks, and we soon got the matter settled in our favor.

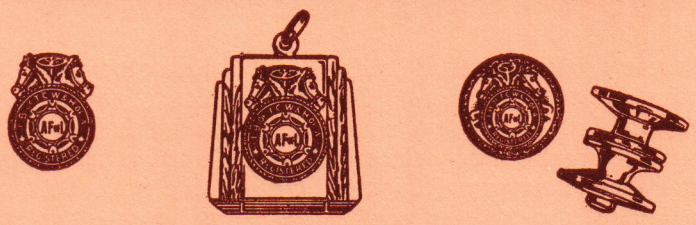
The trouble with many of our business agents is that they are getting soft. The International constitution empowers the general executive board to prefer charges against any local officers or members if, in the judgment of the board, said individuals are acting in a manner detrimental to the International Union.

We will not continue appealing to our people much longer. The case of our government and our country is too serious. We cannot afford to have affiliated with us people who disregard orders and laws and rules made by the general executive board, based on the appeals of our government. We are better off without them.

Let this be notice to all local union officers, that if in the future we find local union officers disobeying these orders and stopping work without sanction of the International Union, the charter of their local union will be suspended and charges may be preferred against the officers and they will be tried before the International executive board. If found guilty, they will be suspended from membership and deprived of office.

If the union refuses to go along with such decisions the charter will not be returned, and the membership will be reorganized. We are held responsible by the government for the actions of our local officers and our local unions. We cannot have affiliated with us such officers or unions referred to above. Let them go where they like, and then if they are not with us, we will not be accountable or answerable for their actions.

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